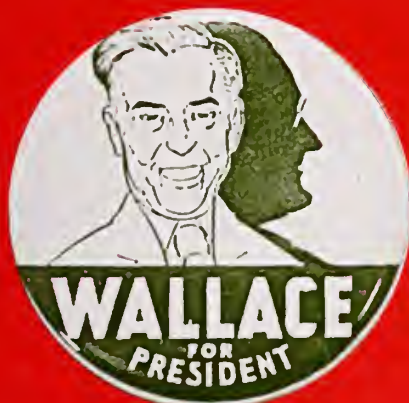




THE KEYNOTER



WORK WITH
ABU
BRING BACK THE UNION

W IN
ITH
WALLACE
FOR PRESIDENT

FOR THE PEOPLE

Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party of 1948

The Full Dinner Pail • Chicago Day

“Baby Ruth and Baby McKee” • “Keep U.S. Out of War”



THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Quarterly

Volume 2003, Number 2

Summer 2003

Editor's Message

With the nation having just gone through the War in Iraq (with the anti-war agitation it produced), it is useful to look back on the election of 1948 as the Cold War took shape. Although one hears a lot about Harry Truman's remarkable upset victory in 1948, one of the most interesting - and neglected - aspects of that campaign is the anti-war insurgent campaign by Henry Wallace. Wallace's campaign had many similarities to current anti-war efforts and many parallels could be drawn. It is worth another look.

Special thanks are due to Germaine Broussard, who labored late into many nights on the computer salvaging some very rough xeroxed images of buttons from 1948. Ah, the wonders of science!

Also in the issue is another look at one of the most successful political symbols ever: The Full Dinner Pail. If not for the Great Depression in 1929, we might still be wearing pins with those little dinner pails on them. The article is based on the dinner pail collection of the APIC's steadfast Secretary/Treasurer Joe Hayes. Joe is the unsung hero of the APIC. He does a hundred unglamorous but essential tasks for our organization. Every collector owes Joe Hayes gratitude. It is nice to show his collector side as well.

Michael Kelly
Editor

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Illustrations: The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Steve Baxley, Roger Fischer, Robert Fratkin, David and Janice Frent, John Gingerich, Chick Harris, Joe Hayes, Paul Ramirez Jonas, James Klusman, Charles McSorley, Barry Mushlin, Edward Novick, Mylo Pyne and Ed Sullivan.

Covers: *Front:* A collage of material from the 1948 Progressive Party: Two buttons, a flier and a campaign photo from the 1948 Progressive Party convention. *Back:* Full color cover of *Judge* magazine from 1912 featuring a full dinner pail somewhat worse for wear.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The most tumultuous political year of our era - 1968 - will be featured with profiles of all the players. In addition, an interview with Congressman Ron Paul, 1988 Libertarian Party candidate for President.

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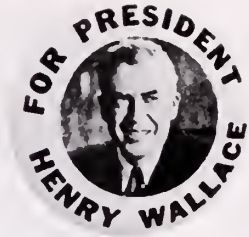
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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party Campaign of 1948

by Milo Pyne



Whenever a candidate is behind in the polls as Election Day nears, he is all but certain to talk about the 1948 Presidential campaign. This remarkable campaign saw the re-election of President Harry S. Truman over Republican Tom Dewey and two other candidates, representing left-wing and right-wing splinters from the Democratic Party, in the form of Henry Wallace of the Progressive Party and Strom Thurmond of the States Rights Democratic Party ("Dixiecrats").

The recent Trent Lott affair brought attention to that Thurmond campaign, but rising concern about foreign affairs more clearly brings the Wallace campaign to mind.

Henry Agard Wallace (1888-1965), the Progressive Party nominee for President in 1948, was from an Iowa farming family. His father and grandfather were prominent agricultural leaders, founding and editing *Wallace's Farmer* and founding Pioneer Hybrid Corn, a midwestern seed company. His father was Secretary of Agriculture under President Warren Harding while the younger Wallace was prominent in support of New Deal agricultural policies during FDR's 1932 campaign and was made Secretary of Agriculture in the new Roosevelt Administration, serving from 1933 to 1941.

He was selected as the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate in 1940, running with Roosevelt in his third-term campaign. Wallace played a role in making foreign policy and served as chairman of the Supply Priorities and Allocations Board, and the Board of Economic Warfare.

Wallace was somewhat of a mystic and a deeply religious person. Along with his better-known books, such as *The Century of the Common Man*, he authored *Statesmanship and Religion* in 1934. He was reportedly responsible for influencing Secretary of the

Treasury Robert Morgenthau to include the reverse of the Great Seal of the United States on the back of the dollar bill, which was redesigned in 1934. This design includes a Masonic symbol of an unfinished pyramid and an all-seeing eye, with the Latin motto "Novus Ordo Seclorum", (New Order of the Ages) sometimes freely translated as "New Deal".

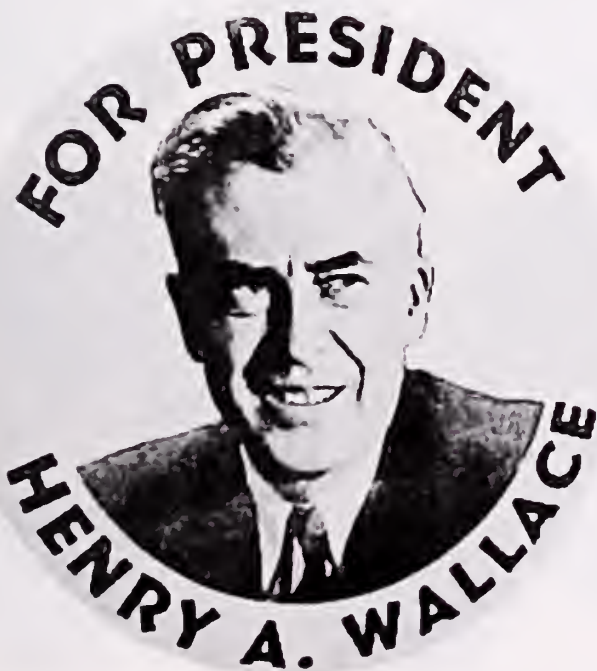
In 1944, he was passed over for renomination despite his loyalty to FDR and the wartime internationalist policies. Wallace was not a practical politician, and was famous for his inability to make "small talk" or connect emotionally with people. The more centrist and conservative forces in the Democratic Party, in fear that Roosevelt would not survive a fourth term, did not want the leftist Wallace to succeed him. Wallace was appointed Secretary of Commerce in the 4th Roosevelt administration, continuing under President Truman after FDR's death. In September 1946, he made a controversial speech to a mass rally at Madison Square Garden breaking with the administration's foreign policy, particularly the staunchly anti-Soviet policies of Secretary of State James Byrnes, a conservative from South Carolina.

Wallace and his political allies on the left began to organize within the Democratic Party as well as through independent vehicles such as the American Labor Party and the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA). By mid- to late 1947, it was apparent that a third party would be launched to challenge Truman from the left in 1948. At first, the movement had broad appeal for many segments of society, including groups that had been disadvantaged by the lifting of price controls after the war, were concerned about the rise of international tensions, or were opposed to racial segregation.

There was substantial influence on the Progressive Party and its allied organizations from the Communist Party USA (CPUSA). Several individuals who had either been members or activists in the CPUSA or sympathetic to its views were active in the formation of the Progressive Party or served on key committees at the party's Philadelphia Convention. Calvin B. "Beanie" Baldwin was Chairman of the Progressive Citizens of America. John Abt, the general counsel of the Wallace campaign and the Progressive Party, was reputedly a Soviet spy who was part of the same Communist cell as Alger Hiss (Hiss himself worked for Wallace when he had been Secretary of Agriculture). The campaign's platform committee was headed by another "secret Communist," Lee Pressman.

The foreign policy components of the Progressive Platform strongly corresponded to the needs of Soviet policy. Some observers believed that the entire Wallace campaign was an effort to influence American foreign policy or, alternately, to divert votes from Truman, elect a conservative Republican, and thereby "intensify the contradictions" and promote class warfare in the United States.

The Democrats shifted their policies and rhetoric to co-opt some of the domestic issues championed by the Progressives. The 1948 Democratic Convention included a strong Civil Rights



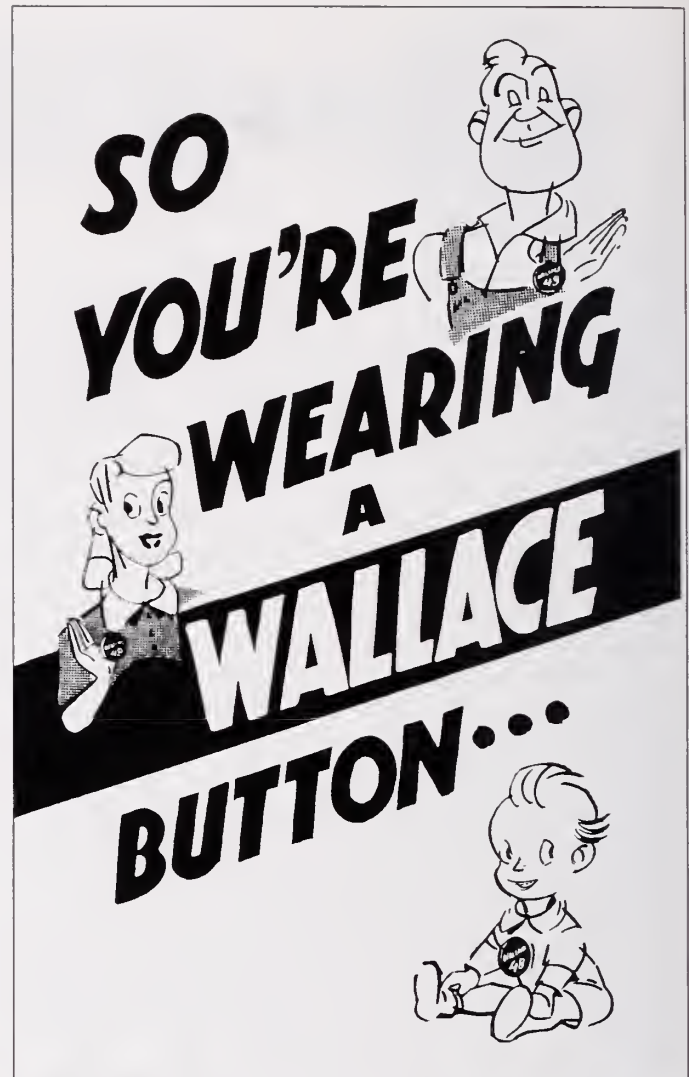
platform, forcefully advocated in a famous speech by Minneapolis Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey. The platform forced the "Dixiecrats," including Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, to bolt the party in protest. Thurmond's segregationist presidential campaign allowed the Democrats to assume more liberal positions, taking much of the wind out of the Wallace campaign's sails.

Wallace's fortunes had been boosted early in the year when, in February 1948, the American Labor Party (ALP) candidate Leo Isacson won a special congressional election in Manhattan. He joined NYC Congressman Vito Marcantonio, meaning that temporarily there were two ALP members of Congress. Isacson lost his seat in November but Marcantonio, thought to be the only Communist-oriented candidate ever elected to Congress, was re-elected to a seventh term. There are two buttons for Isacson's campaigns. The more pro-Soviet foreign policy attitudes of the Progressives did not fare well in 1948 as the Berlin blockade and other American-Soviet conflicts pointed out the need for America to maintain a strong military presence in Europe and elsewhere to counter Soviet forces.

Glen (or Glenn) Taylor, a progressive U. S. Senator from Idaho who had been a country music star in the late 1920's, was chosen as Wallace's running mate. Many artists and writers supported or contributed to the campaign, including Zero Mostel, Paul Robeson, Pete Seeger, Norman Mailer, Woody Guthrie and Katharine Hepburn. James Baldwin mentions campaigning for the Progressive Party campaign in one of his books and a young George McGovern was a delegate to the Progressive Party convention in Philadelphia.

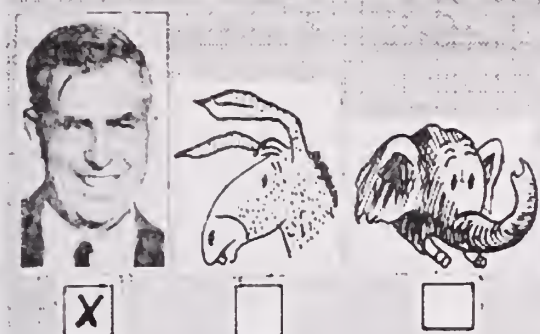


OFFICIAL PROGRAM
*of the National
 Founding Convention
 of the New Party
 Philadelphia
 July 23-25, 1948*



**SO
 YOU'RE
 WEARING
 A
 WALLACE
 BUTTON...**





This Time . . .

VOTE FOR A MAN!

STUDENTS ORGANIZE FOR HENRY WALLACE

This Saturday!

30 New England Colleges will be represented at an all day political workshop - Learn the mechanics of building a new party.

LONGFELLOW SCHOOL
359 Broadway, CAMBRIDGE (Kendall-Harvard Bus)

Sat., February 14 - 11 a.m.

13-

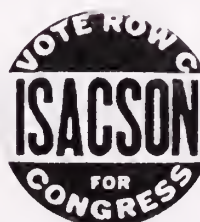
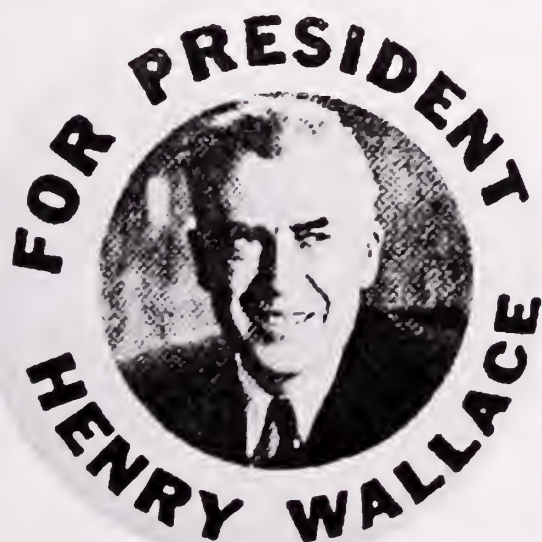
Wallace stirred up controversy by attempting to tour the South and hold desegregated meetings. In Durham, N.C., he was met by mobs of segregationists who disrupted his speaking engagements with violence. The campaign tour was aborted. Many of the candidates who ran with Wallace for state and local offices in the South and North were African-Americans.

In another unfortunate incident, conservative commentator Westbrook Pegler published letters by Wallace from the 1930's that linked him to Russian artist and mystic Nicholas Roerich. In the letters Wallace addressed Roerich as "Dear Guru." This contributed to Wallace's reputation as an unstable dreamer. The publicity surrounding the incident, along with public concern about Communist Party influence on the Progressive Party, caused support for Wallace to deteriorate as the election neared.

In the end, the Progressive Party received 2.38% of the national popular vote and no electoral votes. Wallace's highest vote percentages were obtained in New York (8.25%), California (4.73%), North Dakota (3.8%), Washington (3.5%) and Montana (3.26%). The Wallace Campaign was the high-water mark of leftist election campaigns in America. The naïve euphoria of 1948 was rapidly followed by the intensification of the Cold War, the outbreak of a "hot war" in Korea, and the rise of McCarthyism, leading to the crippling of the political left until the 1960's.

The only jugate Wallace-Taylor "pin-on" items are 2" square plastic badges with a clasp pin that show black and white pictures of Wallace and Taylor in front of an American flag. There are apparently 2 variants of this item with red or blue backgrounds. Some other items with their joint pictures include rally tickets, postcards, and additional paper items.

There are also very few coattail items; these include a rare Wallace-Oakes jugate; a photo button for Campbell (an African-American candidate) for Congress that mentions Wallace; an interesting James Imbrie for U. S. Senator from New Jersey with a shield design; and a Wallace-Taylor button that also mentions



Wallace's prospects rose in early 1948 when Leo Isacson won a special election in Manhattan on the American Labor Party ticket, joining fellow-NYC Congressman Vito Marcantonio as an ALP member of Congress. Above: Two very rare Isacson buttons (from February 1948 and November 1948) plus a Young Progressives of America button boosting Marcantonio for NYC mayor in 1949.

**PHOOEY
ON
BLUBBERHEAD
WALLACE**

**ANYONE
BUT
WALLACE**

**THINK!
PREVENT
WALLACITIS**

These anti-Wallace buttons may be from 1948 or from the plethora of slogan buttons issued during the 1940 race between FDR and Willkie when Wallace was FDR's running mate.

"Kessler for Assembly." There is also a three-name button (Rainey - Wallace - Ravetz) from Philadelphia. Joseph H. Rainey was an African-American judge who abandoned the Democratic Party to join the Progressives as a congressional candidate. Physician Elkin Ravetz ran for the state Senate from the 7th district. Rainey won headlines when he went to Birmingham, Alabama to speak on behalf of Wallace and defied police orders by addressing an integrated crowd. He shouted that the Birmingham police were "heathens and barbarians," and added, "I would rather be free among the dead than living among slaves." In November, Rainey and Ravetz won just over 4 percent of the vote, far below the totals Democrats had feared they would.

The more rare, and presumably earlier, photo buttons for Henry Wallace's Presidential campaign bore a serious-looking portrait that was his official Vice-Presidential image. The later and generally more common photo buttons (which range in size from 1.25 inches to 3.5 inches) feature a 1947 smiling portrait made for the campaign. These appear as a set of essentially identical celluloid photo buttons made in 3 1/2", 2 1/2" and 1 3/4" sizes that give the candidates name as "Henry A. Wallace". There is also a frequently seen similar pin (often appearing severely foxed), which is distinctive for having a circular background to the picture of Wallace, and the name given as "Henry Wallace". Interestingly enough, perhaps the only reproduction button associated with the campaign is a replica of the design of the larger pins rendered in the 1 1/4" size (lacking the background to the photo and with "A." in the name), essentially replicating the larger-size items in the smaller size. In addition, the replica has a white-painted surface to the metal inside the back, and the collet is flattened instead of raised. This replica could be deceptive, it is very well made and not of recent vintage.

A legitimate and classic button shows a drawing of a smiling Wallace with his head casting a shadow of FDR. It comes in two different color variants; blue on white or black on white, with the latter being much less frequently seen. Some of the other more unusual items that do appear on occasion include a felt Wallace-Taylor pennant and a 6 1/2" phonograph record with Wallace's picture on the obverse and a "merry-go-round" of donkeys and elephants on the reverse, alluding to the similarity between the "two old parties."

There are at least two anti-Wallace buttons that may have come from 1948 or may have been part of the wave of slogan buttons from the 1940 campaign when Wallace was FDR's running mate. One of them advises, "Think! Prevent Wallacitis" while the other reads "Phooey on Blubberhead Wallace." This latter one may allude to Pegler's characterization of him by that derogatory term. Wallace buttons that mention organizations, special constituencies, or localities include the Young

Progressives of America (YPA), Women, Labor, Teenagers, Youth, Seamen, Garment Center, Fur Workers, Veterans, Harlem, Queens, Long Island University (LIU) and Brooklyn College, a well known hotbed of leftist sentiment known as the "Little Red School House" during those days. The "Harlem for Wallace and Freedom" and LIU buttons are particularly rare and noteworthy. Some other collectibles associated with the campaign include a variety of identification badges associated with the July Philadelphia convention, some seldom-seen metal jewelry items featuring peace doves and "Wallace '48" and the little known Yankee Doodle Rally button, a Madison Square Garden concert given by Paul Robeson, Pete Seeger and other progressive entertainers.

The Progressive Party went into rapid decline after 1948. It fielded a ticket in 1952 with Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass but they drew only 140,138 votes and the party soon disappeared.

After Wallace's death in 1965, his one-time opponent Hubert Humphrey offered a tribute: "Above all he was a good man." He may have been that, but he was too naïve for a politician and would-be president. The quixotic Wallace Campaign and the Progressive Party of 1948-1956 presents an interesting collecting opportunity that captures a unique period of American history.★

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With three Democrats in race (Truman, Wallace and Thurmond) it seemed likely that the Republican ticket of Dewey and Warren was heading for an easy win.

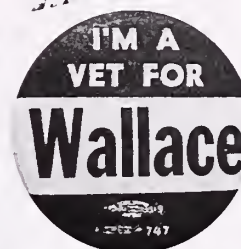
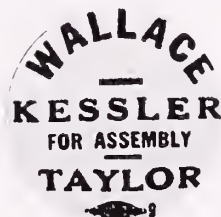


This page features all the known Wallace coattail buttons and a coattail brochure from Georgia. Many local Progressive Party candidates were African Americans, something quite daring in the days of segregation.



Note for... **JIM BARFOOT**

JIM BARFOOT
for
GOVERNOR
General Election Nov. 2
PEOPLES PROGRESSIVE PARTY
OF GEORGIA
15 Alexander Street, N. W. Atlanta
Phone AL 4-1065

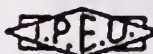


FOUNDING CONVENTION
OF THE
NEW PARTY

DELEGATE

CONVENTION HALL
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
JULY 23-26, 1948

VETERANS FOR WALLACE



682

Glen Taylor: The Singing Cowboy

by Michael Kelly

Henry Wallace's vice presidential candidate was an interesting and colorful character in his own right. Senator Glen (sometimes Glenn) Hearst Taylor of Idaho was born in Oregon on April 12, 1904 and moved to a homestead near Kooskia, Idaho as a child. He was attracted to public attention and joined a dramatic stock company in 1919, eventually becoming a successful country-western singer known as "the Singing Cowboy." In 1940 and 1942, he was the unsuccessful Democratic nominee for U.S. Senator but did manage to win a Senate seat in 1944. "The Singing Cowboy" became known as "the Singing Senator."

Taylor was a controversial senator, whose new position did not keep him from attention-getting ploys like performing with his family on horseback from the top of the Capitol steps.



**I TAKE
MY STAND WITH
HENRY
WALLACE**

by Senator Glen H. Taylor



He immediately staked his claim on the far left of the Democratic Party and was quick to blame the nation's ills on conspiracies by big banks.

The acerbic sage of Baltimore, H.L. Mencken, dismissed him thus: "As for Taylor, he has made it plain to all that there is nothing to him whatever save a third-rate mountebank from the great open spaces, a good deal closer to Pappy O'Daniel than to Savonarola. Soak a radio clown for ten days and ten nights in the rectified juices of all the cow-state Messiahs ever heard of and you have him to the life." To the American Left, he was an authentic voice of western radicalism. An unsigned 1948 memo in the Truman Library archives describes Taylor as "one of the 'darlings' of the Communist Party."

Taylor was a vigorous campaigner in 1948, often pulling out his guitar to lead the singing at Progressive Party rallies. On a campaign swing through the segregationist South, Taylor was overpowered and hauled off to jail for attempting to enter a church by the "Colored" door. However, his showbiz style and unorthodox beliefs added to the sense of unreliability that already marked Henry Wallace in the public's eye.

Even after the 1948 defeat, Sen. Glen Taylor was a strong - if not overly successful - voice for international cooperation. On September 13, 1949, he first introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 66 which began: "Whereas, in order to achieve universal peace and justice, the present Charter of the United Nations should be changed to provide a true world government constitution." It is a moment still cited by those who see the imposition of a New World Order as an imminent danger.

Running for Vice President on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948 didn't help Glen Taylor's political career. He lost his Senate seat in 1950 and even narrowly lost the Democratic nomination for Senate in 1956 (to Frank Church). Taylor moved to California, where he found business success selling a line of toupees called "Taylor Toppers." He died in California on April 28, 1984, two weeks after his 80th birthday.★





GET
RID
OF
WALLACE



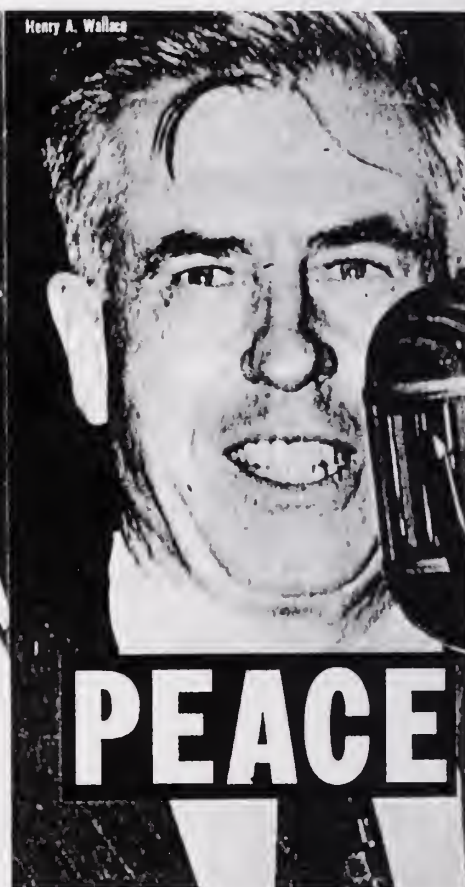
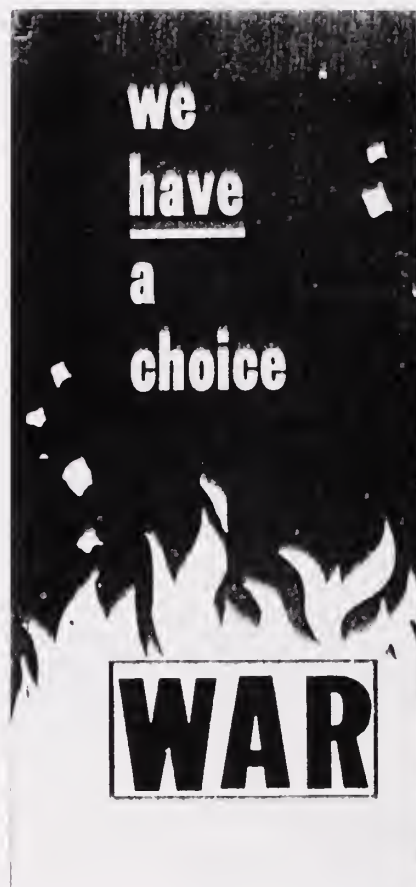
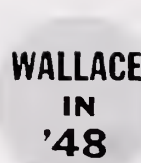
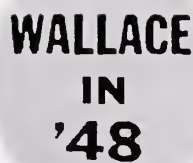
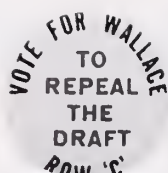
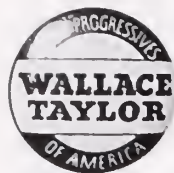
The buttons to the left are from the American Labor Party (ALP), a minor party that existed only in New York State. It was founded by Democrats that were pro-FDR but anti-Tammany Hall. NYC's Republican Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia was active in the ALP as well.



Below are the two sides of a record album (shown reduced). One side features the tune "The Same Old Merry Go Round," disparaging both major parties as being two sides of same capitalist coin. The other side of the record features a tune called "Great Day."

No. 14492	GILMORE STADIUM BEVERLY & FAIRFAX		GRANDSTAND GENERAL ADMISSION GILMORE STADIUM GOOD ONLY SAT. EVE. OCTOBER 1948
	HENRY WALLACE Mammoth Election Rally Sponsored By INDEPENDENT PROGRESSIVE PARTY of CAL.		
	OCT. 2 1948	SAT. EVE. AT 8:00	
	Estab. Price \$1.50	TOTAL \$2.60	
	Fed. Tax .10		





A bunch of Wallace buttons plus a brochure (above) and a stamp-like sticker (second row center). The latter two emphasize Wallace's opposition to a Cold War with Russia. The square badge on the left is the only known type of Wallace/Taylor jugate pin-on.

Wallace in 1940

FDR had three vice presidents: John Nance Garner for two terms, Henry Wallace for his third and Harry Truman for the few months that his fourth term lasted. In 1940, FDR wanted Wallace, who was a true believer in the New Deal. Party leaders disliked the idealistic Wallace and resisted his nomination. Opposition to Wallace as VP was especially strong among conservative Democrats. At the convention, Georgia Gov. E.D. Rivers asked Oklahoma

Gov. L.C. Phillips about Wallace. Phillips replied, "Henry's my second choice." Surprised, Rivers asked Phillips who was his first choice. "Any son of a bitch," Phillips responded, "red, white, black or yellow, that can get the nomination." But FDR insisted, "They will go for Wallace or I won't run." Eleanor Roosevelt had fly to the convention in person to deliver a speech for Wallace to assure his selection. Four years later, with FDR's health clearly failing, insiders moved to drop Wallace from the ticket. ★



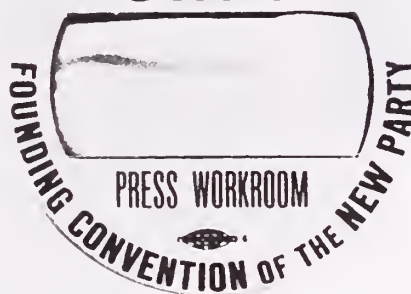
CONTRIBUTORS		1940	RECEIPT No. 79241
ROOSEVELT-WALLACE FINANCE COMMITTEE			
OF UTAH			
Under auspices of			
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, and			
DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE			
_____ of			
Has Contributed to Continue the Present Democratic Administration			
_____ Dollars and		/100ths (\$_____)	
STUART P. DOBBS National Committeeman	CAROLYN W. WOLFE National Committeewoman	PARNELL BLACK State Chairman	

Items from the Progressive Party convention.

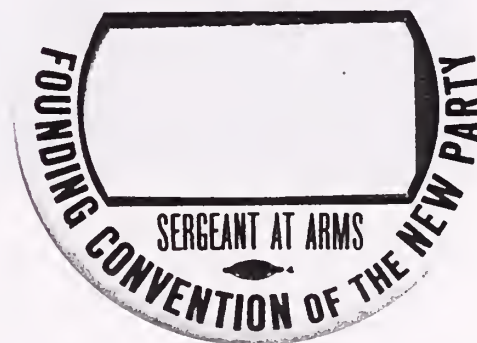
NEWSREEL



WORKING STAFF



PERIODICAL PRESS



Information needed to include the Chick and Cecelia Harris APIC Trust Fund with the 2002 APIC Financial Report was unavailable when the report was prepared. The following is an addition to that report:

CHICK AND CECELIA HARRIS APIC TRUST FUND

2002 YEAR END STATEMENT

ACCOUNT VALUE AS OF DECEMBER 31, 2002

CASH	\$ 544.45
PREFERRED STOCKS	7,081.25
ASSET BACK SECURITIES	18,182.34
	<u>\$ 25,711.82</u>

INCOME:

INTEREST	\$ 1,029.57
DIVIDENDS	124.15
	<u>\$ 1,153.72</u>

#ALL ASSET BACKED SECURITIES MARKED TO MARKET

Current Value As Of April 29, 2003: \$26,247



The States Rights Democrats in 1948

Today, most Americans know Strom Thurmond as that guy who was still in the Senate at the age of 100. But in 1948, Strom Thurmond was the fire-eating white supremacist governor of South Carolina who led a bolt from the Democratic National Convention when the first real civil rights platform plank adopted by a Democratic convention passed.

Less than a week later, States Rights Democrats from a half dozen Dixie states convened in Birmingham, Alabama to nominate a presidential ticket to block the election of President Truman. Thurmond took the top slot with Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright as his running mate. The plan was for the Thurmond-Wright ticket to win enough votes in the Electoral College to block Truman's re-election but the "Dixiecrats" won only four states - Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina - and Truman won anyway.

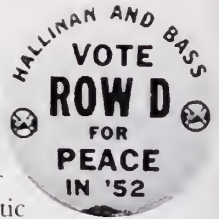
Thurmond went on to win a Senate seat as a Democrat in 1954 by write-in (the only such victory in history). In 1964, he switched to the Republican Party to support Barry Goldwater.★

The Progressive Party in 1952

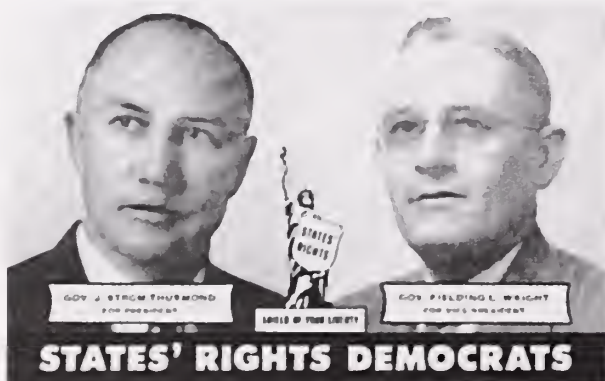
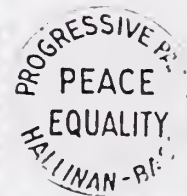
Just as the 1968 American Independent Party struggled on after George Wallace returned to the Democratic Party, the Progressive Party didn't immediately disappear after Henry Wallace left. In 1952, the Progressive Party Convention met on July 4 in Chicago to field a national ticket. Radical trial attorney Vincent Hallinan of California was nominated for President despite being in prison at the time, serving six months for contempt of court from his role as defense attorney in the trial of labor leader Harry Bridges. [His son, Terence Hallinan, is currently District Attorney of San Francisco.] Hallinan's running mate was an elderly African-American publisher named Charlotta A. Bass.

Liberal journalist Sidney Roger attended the convention and described it thus: "It was the end of the Progressive Party. The idea of nominating Vincent Hallinan was ridiculous. He was hardly known...Everyone attempted to keep a road show going, an illusion that there still was a Progressive Party. I knew it was a futile effort."

On Election Day, the Progressive Party won only 140,138 votes and soon ceased to exist.★



Above: Thurmond flag measuring 6½" by 7½". (shown reduced). Before becoming governor, Thurmond was the commander of the South Carolina Army Reserve and "ROA" may stand for Reserve Officers Association. Below: a jugate postcard (shown reduced).



Chicago Day, October 9, 1896 Sound Money Demonstration

(Submitted by Stephen Baxley)

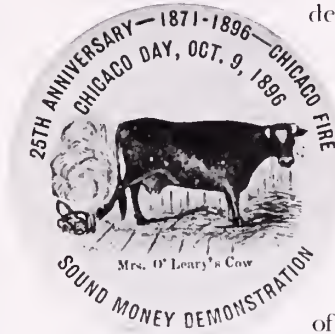
The pinback button tells us there was a Sound Money Demonstration on Chicago Day, October 9, 1896, but what was this event really like? Fortunately, we have the written record of an eyewitness to the event. The *London Daily Mail* sent George Warrington Stevens to America to cover the 1896 presidential campaign. His articles were published the following year in a book, *The Land of the Dollar*. One thing the McKinley button doesn't tell us about is the Free Silver torch parade held on the same day. Here is Stevens' account of the political spectacles.

Now, when Chicago makes up her mind to do a thing she does it as it has never been done before. If it is not the biggest thing of its kind the world ever saw – why, then Chicago has lost a day. Therefore the men of Chicago resolved that the twenty-fifth anniversary of her destruction by fire should not pass without such a demonstration as should convince the world that she is very much more alive than ever. Incidentally, it was determined that this demonstration should also blazon abroad her devotion to the cause of that sound money on which she has grown to be what she is. Now, when Chicago makes up her mind to do a thing she does it as it has never been done before. If it is not the biggest thing of its kind the world ever saw – why, then Chicago has lost a day.

The American people love display above all things; it is nothing to be anything unless you can express that being so as to impress it sensibly upon others. So the day was made a public holiday, not by the decree of authority – what cares Chicago for authority? – but by the unanimous resolve of the leading citizens. Board of Trade, Stock Exchange, banks, offices, shops, factories, street railways, all took a day off; they hardly knew themselves in the unaccustomed calm. And Chicago gathered herself together into the heart of the city for a festival of superlative display such as had never been seen before, and should never be seen again until Chicago saw fit to surpass it.

I had seen at Canton something of the American method of electioneering, – of the appeal to the senses of the voter, hitting him hard in eye and ear with colour and noise, so that the dullest imagination cannot fail to appreciate the strength of the great machine which asks him to become part of it. I had seen in Chicago evidences of ambitious energy which convinced me that what there was to be done in the way of colour and sound and pageantry would be done here. But I had also seen something of the exaggeration into which American impressionability is wont to betray itself.

When I went to the office of the Chicago 'Times-Herald,' which was my hospitable home for the day, I expected to see a big thing – perhaps a matter of two or three hours – but not a thing whose bigness would transcend my powers of estimate and comparison. The parade was timed to start at ten, and only a few minutes afterwards its head appeared between the



dense phalanxes of people crushed on to the pavements, and the swarming faces that lined every building, from the lowest window to the roofs and chimneys, like ants in a hill.

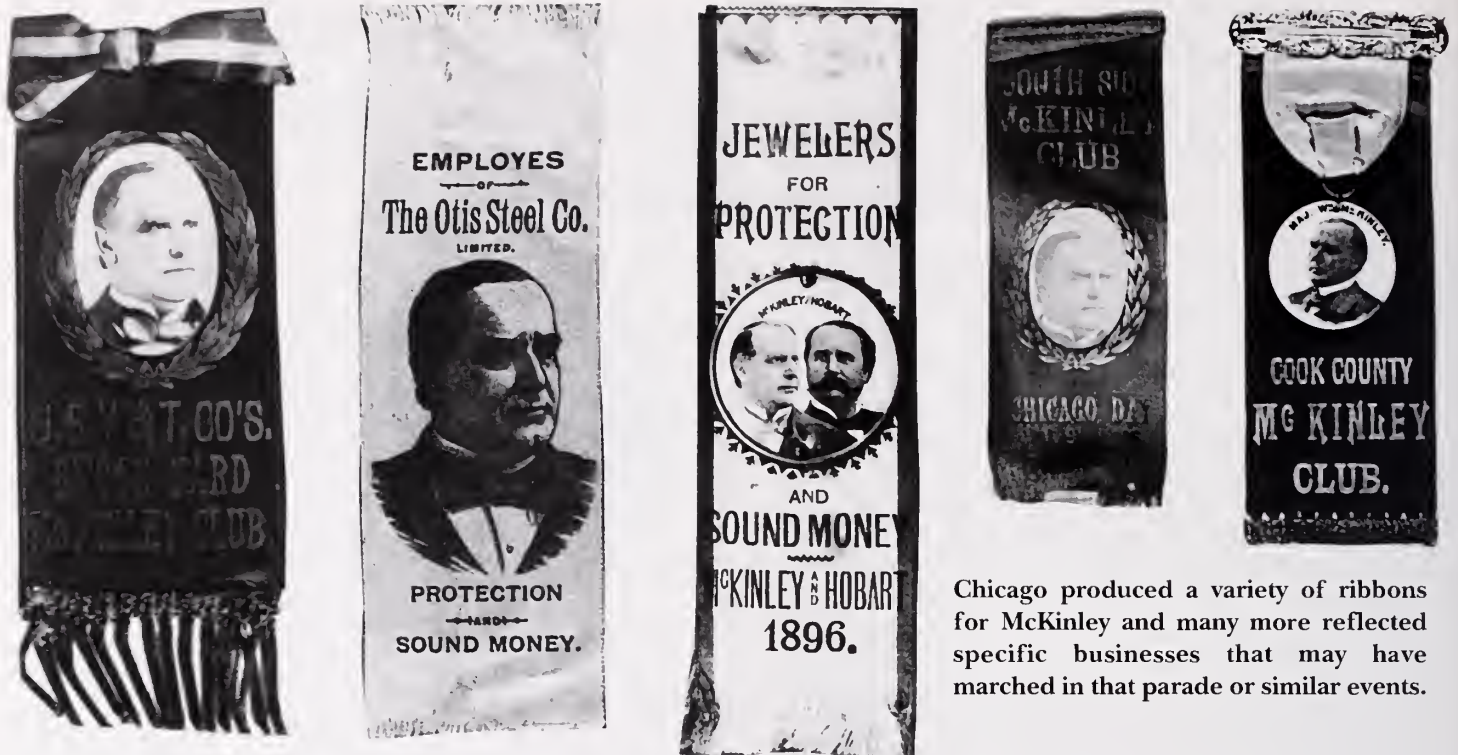
First came a squad of mounted police; then mounted buglers; then rank on rank of mounted citizens. With parti-coloured sashes slung round their bodies, gold cords about their hats, white gauntlets, new bridles, and brilliant saddle-cloths, they looked as disciplined and rode as regularly as the police. Presently came by the organizer of the parade, riding alone like a general, and after him a small staff and a mounted standard-bearer. Then slowly there advanced a colossal American ensign, spread out like a canopy from side to side of the broad street: it seemed to be rolling along by its own motion. It was a mass of umbrellas – some blue with white stars, others red and white, cunningly marshaled so that from above they presented a giant counterfeit of the stars and stripes.

Then came the demonstrators themselves. First, grey-bearded veterans of the war, glittering with medals and badges, a little stiff with years, but every inch of them soldiers yet. Band after band crashed past – scarlet and blue, crimson and gold, lace and feathers. Between them, now eight abreast shoulder to shoulder, now four abreast in open order across the whole street, advanced battalion after battalion of marchers. They were regimented either according to political clubs or to the prominent business houses of Chicago; each carried its own standard.

The great drapery establishment of Marshall Field & Company led the way – six partners of the firm riding abreast, and after them shop-walkers, salesmen, cashiers, porters, office boys, all in rank and file, and all in step with the music. Firm followed firm, club followed club. Some wore red badges, some blue, most gold; some carried scarlet umbrellas, some orange. Others wore slouched hats of saffron colour, others again short capes of ultra-marine or vermilion. All kept their formation and marched in step.

After about three-quarters of an hour, when the procession had already become an army, began to arrive the principal attraction of the show – the floats, as they call wagons bearing symbols of trade or groups of allegorical figures. Here Vulcan with attendant Cyclops, here nothing but a huge earthen pipe, there a model of one of the great buildings, there again a car swarming with starred-and-striped Uncle Sams-six horses, eight horses, ten horses, with floating streamers and gilded hoofs.

Horns boomed and megaphone speaking-trumpets magnified the din tenfold. And at intervals along the line of march



Chicago produced a variety of ribbons for McKinley and many more reflected specific businesses that may have marched in that parade or similar events.

were telephone receivers into which enthusiasts decanted their cheers, to be carried five hundred miles into Mr. M'Kinley's [sic] study at Canton.

Was there ever such a blend of the infantile and the heroic?

More bands, more floats, more colours, more megaphones, always more gold. Eleven o'clock: they were still stepping briskly out to the music. Twelve o'clock: they were still yelling, "He's all right!" as they passed the picture of M'Kinley. One o'clock: they were just getting into their stride. At half-past one I took a short adjournment and not unnecessary sustenance. At half-past two I went back to the window: there was this inexhaustible parade sweeping on as doggedly as ever.

Club followed club, factory trod on the heels of factory. More bands, more floats, more colours, more megaphones, always more gold. A detachment of bakers in white; a company of glass blowers with glass swords; a troop of broom-makers shouldering gilt brooms. Then came the contingent of the great packinghouses-ten thousand marchers from these alone. Their feature was the stockyards brigade, all riding and all in capes that may have been paper, but looked like cloth-of-gold - hard cattle-drovers and slaughterers sitting their fine horses carelessly.

Every ward in the city, every trade that man ever set his hand to, had sent its sons to swell this prodigious pageant. Three o'clock: was it ever going to end? We had long ago worked through the list of organizations coloured on the card, yet tramp, tramp, rumble, rumble, crash, crash, the men and the wagons and the bands came pouring on. It was an army corps, two army corps, a whole nation on the march.

The mind was stunned and deadened by the vastness of it. The eye was blinded with colour, the ear deaf with music, the head dazed with the effort to get it all into focus. At last! A six-horsed car one blaze of gold, and the crowd had broken the dam and was surging over the street.

Twenty-five minutes to four: it had taken five hours and ten

minutes to go past the "Times Herald" office. By my own estimate nearly four hundred men had passed every minute; allowing for all intervals the 'Herald's' calculation of eighteen to twenty thousand an hour cannot have been too high. A hundred thousand men! More than thirteen miles of procession! Capitalist worth two hundred million dollars!

But why struggle with figures so vast that they have lost their meaning. The parade would have failed if its object, if its import, be grasped and weighed by figures. The mind was stunned and deadened by the vastness of it. The eye was blind-



The Chicago Day parade for McKinley produced numerous ribbons as well as the highlighted button. The McKinley/Hobart umbrella was the sort of thing members of a marching club would carry. Imagine seeing sixty of these umbrellas coming down the street in the hands uniformed marchers. The underfunded Bryan supporters likely had fewer items and, given the sentimental instinct to save mementoes of a presidential candidate who was first successful and then assassinated, means that McKinley items are easier to find.

ed with colour, the ear deaf with music, the head dazed with the effort to get it all into focus. There was more colour and more noise and more men than you could conceive were in the whole world – a world of brilliant bunting and brass and horses, and moving men, men, men, till you gave up and let it sweep over you and conquer you and absorb you, annihilated into its titanic self.

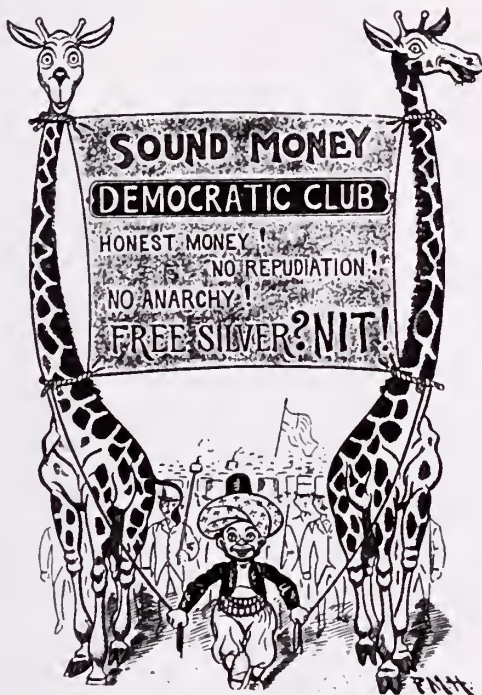
They have discovered in this country the effects of the spectacular and the auricular, and they have applied it on a characteristically vast scale. "If McKinley gets all that of votes



A CAMPAIGN SUGGESTION.

I.

The old method of making a man carry one of these large, heavy banners was little short of inhuman.



II.

PUCK suggests the above plan, which is not only humane, but has the advantage of novelty.

During the 1892 campaign between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison, *Puck* magazine had a novel suggestion on how to make the popular political parade easier on the marchers.

out of this county," said the lift-boy when I crawled home, feeling too small a worm ever to turn again, "he'll be our next President sure."

There you see it at work. That lift-boy never went to a political meeting, never read a political tract. You can disregard argument; you can ignore self-interest; you can forget country; you can even refuse a bribe. But you cannot fail to see and hear and to be struck well nigh resistless by so imperious and masterful appeal to the senses of your body. But they all feel that there is something they want—something they ought to have and have not – and in a vague, blind way they are striving to get it.

The Democrats know that as well as anybody else. So they have organized a counter-demonstration as colossal as they can lay their hands on for the evening, and as I write it is trooping up beneath my window. On the horizon the red and white lights shine steadily over the black solemnity of the Lake. Nearer in is the broad belt of muddy waste that Chicago is going to make into a park when the City Council gives back the money it has embezzled. And right below us is Michigan Avenue, dark with heaving masses of men, flickering with gold and silver and red fire, and volleying cheers, hoarse and shrill, far over the solemn water, and up to unanswering heaven.

All poor men these. No two hundred million dollars here. Not but what they know how to play the game as well as anybody. They have the advantage of the darkness and illumination, and the keen night breeze. They have a row of sheeted ghosts with such boding inscriptions as "Murdered in Pennsylvania by Carnegie."

It seems to me – I may be wrong; I am trying to be fair – that there is more life, more sincerity, more devil in this muster than in the other. Men said that factory hands were compelled to demonstrate this morning for fear of their employers. It was untrue of many thousands, I doubt not; yet some looked sullen – it may probably have been true of some. But of this night's enthusiasm there can be no doubt; the affair goes in a whirlwind of cheers from start to finish. It may be smaller, though even this is a great army; it takes an hour and a half to pass my window, and cannot number less than thirty thousand men. And if smaller, it is more exuberant. It may be less overwhelming, but it is more inspiring.

I am getting enthusiastic myself. There may be fewer bands, but how they ring! And was there ever an air like "Auld Lang Syne"? There may be fewer cavalry, but how they step! And was ever any created thing so beautiful as a horse? There may be fewer colours, but how the torches dance! There may be fewer cars, but how the silver blazes in the eye of the calcium lights!

So they go blaring and flaring, tossing and roaring and maddening into the darkness. All poor men, in this city of corn and meat and dollars, may be coarse men and ignorant men. They may be very wrong; they may be compassing their country's ruin and their own. But they all feel that there is something they want – something they ought to have and have not – and in a vague, blind way they are striving to get it. Thousands of them think – how tragically! – that it is within their grasp today.

All poor men – and poor they will remain. Sometimes dully patient through the night of indigence; sometimes shouting at the phantom of false morning; sometimes, it may be, raving and seeing red. But poor they will remain.★



For the Newer Collector

The Full Dinner Pail

by Michael Kelly



Of all the political symbols used in American politics, few have had the powerful impact of "The Full Dinner Pail." It was a perfect political icon as it summarized complex political and economic issues into a simple image immediately understood by most voters. The full dinner pail symbolized the 19th century Republican Party's commitment to protection of American industry and labor by means of a tariff on imported products. At the time, the Democratic Party stood for free trade and the resulting lower consumer costs it would produce.

This was natural, as the GOP's base was among Eastern and Northern states where manufacturing was highly developed. The Democrats, on the other hand, drew support from the agrarian states in the South and West, where farmers were paying high prices for manufactured goods but couldn't sell their crops overseas. The modern parties today have exchanged their core states; the Democrats being strongest in the North and East while the GOP draws more votes in the South and West. As a consequence, the two parties in the modern era switched positions with Republicans now tending to support free trade and Democrats calling for protection.

But in 1896, when William McKinley and William Jennings Bryan battled for the Presidency, the Republicans stood for the high wages and high profits that would come with a high tariff.

The full dinner pail referred to the metal bucket, usually with a small drinking cup on the top, carried by industrial workers in the city (the modern equivalent is the lunch box). It appeared in 1894 as a symbol of prosperity in William Hope Harvey's popular best seller *Professor Coin's Financial School*. Harvey attempted to explain the money question in simple terms and supported the coinage of silver. He had great influence on the Populist Party and William Jennings Bryan but, oddly enough, his image of the full dinner pail was picked up by

the advocates of gold rather than the silverites.

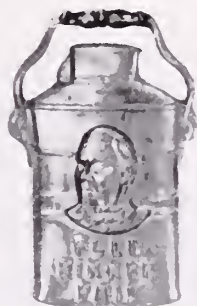
Republicans had advocated high protective tariffs for many years (in fact, as far back as Henry Clay the Whigs had called for protection of American industries) but tariffs had been reduced under the Democratic Cleveland administration. Cleveland had the misfortune of being in office when a deep recession hit, giving credence to Republican predictions of disaster. The Bryan advocacy of silver currency and the McKinley advocacy of gold currency were both presented as solutions to hard times.

The full dinner pail emerged in the final six weeks of the campaign when McKinley softened his "hard money" stance and began to emphasize the protective tariff as the way to restore full employment and give the workingman a "full dinner pail." Because the slogan emerged toward the end of the campaign, there are no dinner pail buttons than can be conclusively attributed to the 1896 campaign. The same cannot be said for the rematch between McKinley and Bryan in 1900. With a booming economy, the Republicans waved the full dinner pail as vigorously as earlier GOP campaigns had waved the bloody shirt. Strengthened with a new running mate in Theodore Roosevelt (McKinley's first vice president, Garrett Hobart, had died in office), McKinley's 1900 campaign was awash in dinner pails. No fewer than 15 different McKinley-Roosevelt jugate buttons feature the full dinner pail, as do lanterns, posters, badges and other campaign items. The full dinner pail was a frequent symbol in the popular political cartoons of the time, especially in the pro-Republican *Judge* magazine.

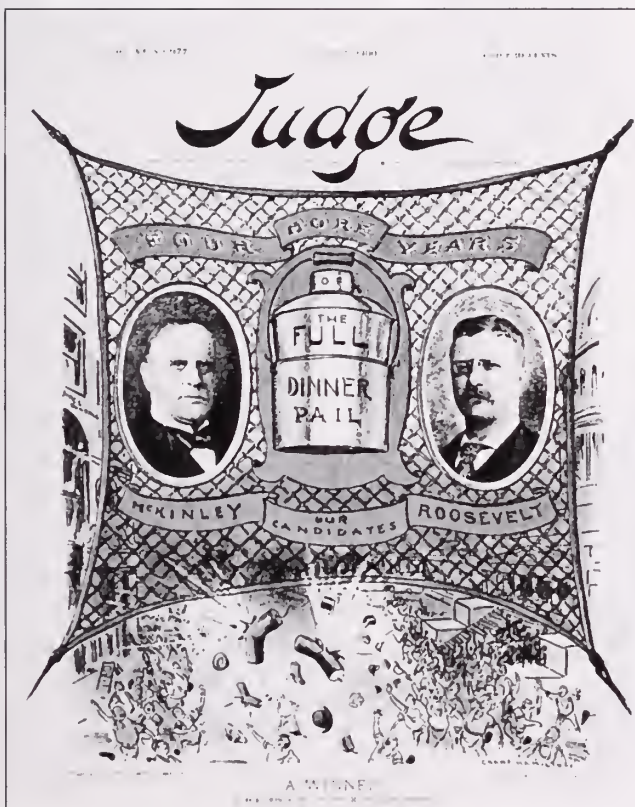
McKinley and the full dinner pail triumphed in 1900. After McKinley's assassination and the elevation of TR to the White House, the full dinner pail remained a popular Republican symbol. When hard times returned under the administration of William Howard Taft, Democrats gleefully turned the symbol



Plenty of buttons from 1900 utilized the "Full Dinner Pail" theme.



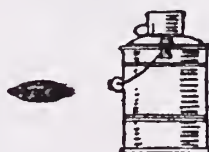
Above: A parade float boosts "Four more years of the full dinner pail."
Lower left: Judge magazine cover.



**MCKINLEY
AND
ROOSEVELT**



**PROSPERITY
PARADE**



**CLEVELAND
NOV. 3RD
1900**

**MEDIA
REPUBLICAN**

CLUB

VICTORY AND PROSPERITY

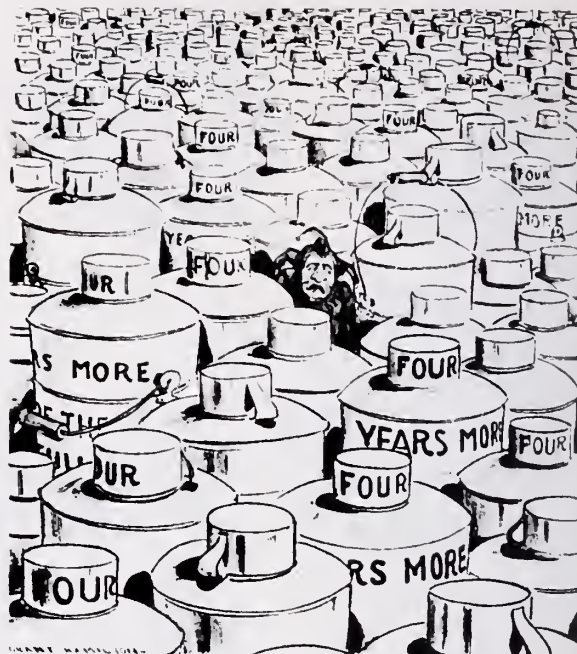
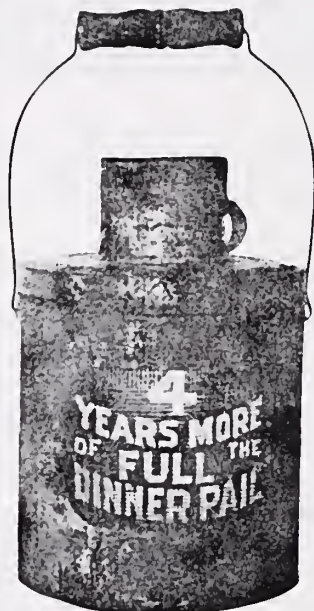


**A FULL DINNER PAIL
MEDIA, PA.**





The "Full Dinner Pail" appears on a wide variety of campaign items, including the button and shell pictured above.



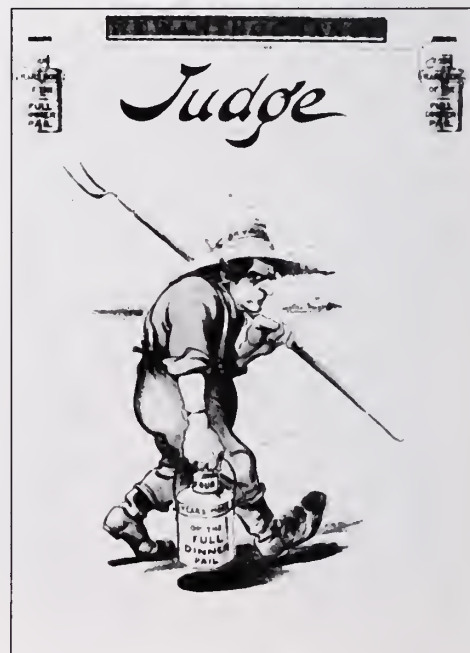
Grant Hamilton, September 1900
LOST! BRYAN IS TRAPPED BY THE DINNER PAIS.



The "Full Dinner Pail" was an attractive image for cartoonists. Four examples are pictured on this page. Upper right: Bryan in a jester's costume finds himself surrounded by full dinner pails. Left: Don Quixote Bryan breaks his lance tilting against the full dinner pail. Lower left: the full dinner pail knocks Bryan out. Lower right: After the election, a disgruntled Bryan slinks back to the farm, carrying a full dinner pail.



THE FULL DINNER-PAIL ARGUMENT HAS TOO LONG A REACH FOR MR BRYAN



against the GOP with claims that "the bottom is out of the full dinner pail" and buttons reading "the empty dinner pail." In 1912, Democrats tried to contrast the "Full Dinner Pail" with the housewife's "Empty Market Basket," caused by Republican tariffs on many basic items like food.

Nonetheless, the full dinner pail remained an enduring symbol of Republican prosperity and protection. Several dinner pail buttons exist for local GOP candidates like Sen. Mark Hannah and Chicago Mayor William Thompson. Pictured with this article is a *Leslie's* magazine cover from the 1916 campaign of Charles Evans Hughes showing the GOP elephant carrying the full dinner pail. There is a 1924 Calvin Coolidge button that features it as well. During a campaign stop in New York City on October 22, 1928, during the final days of the campaign, Herbert Hoover updated the symbol for a new era when he stated, "The slogan of progress is changing from the full dinner pail to the full garage."

It took the Great Depression to abolish the full dinner pail from the popular consciousness. For that generation, the idea of Republican prosperity seemed as outdated as the old dinner pail itself. In modern days, we have seen a few political buttons featuring the lunch bucket, usually as a symbol of industrial labor (now a mainstay of the Democratic Party). Several lunch bucket buttons appeared in the 1970's for Democratic hopefuls like Jimmy Carter and Scoop Jackson or on anti-Nixon buttons put out by labor unions.

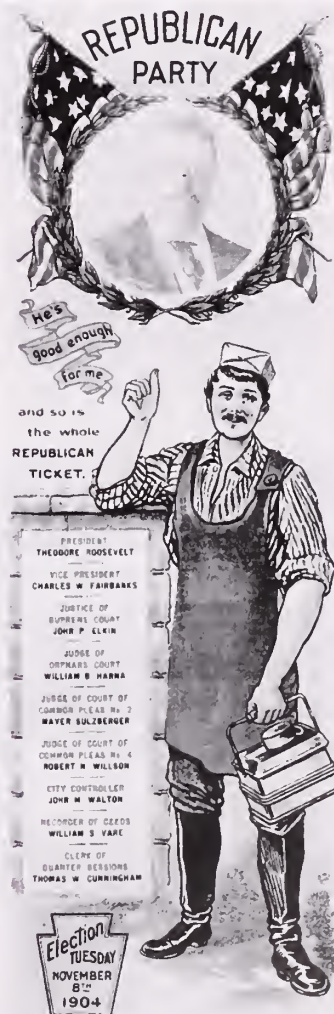
Many symbols have found widespread use in political campaigns from Benjamin Harrison's hat to Bill Clinton's saxophone. But few symbols ever had the near-universal recognition or longevity of "the Full Dinner Pail."★



MCKINLEY FILLED IT—WILL ROOSEVELT EMPTY IT?



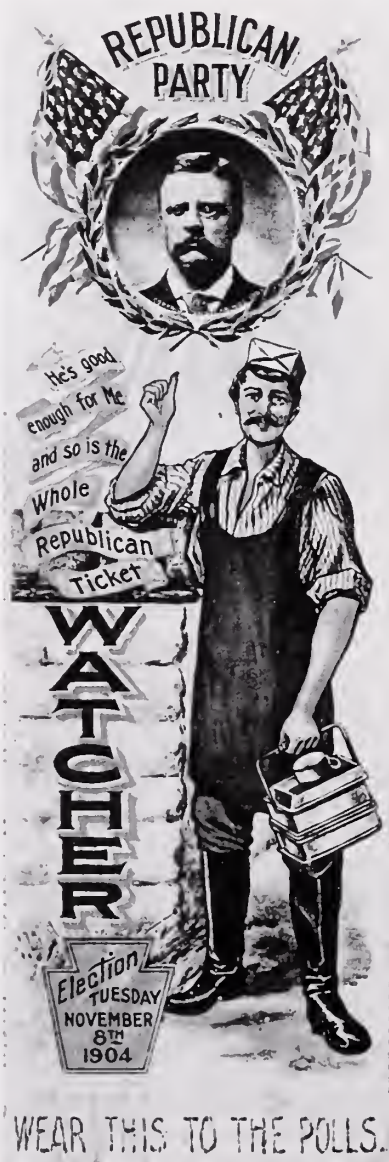
Yes, Willie, Nursie and I are filling up a Full dinner Pail, for campaign purposes, to catch the workingman. We think he is easy."



Upper right: Anti-McKinley cartoonist Frederick Oppen had a popular series called "Willie and Papa" showing "The Trusts" as Papa and Mark Hanna as nursemaid to children McKinley and Roosevelt. The full dinner pail remained a popular symbol when TR became president.



He who lives by the dinner pail may die by the dinner pail. Democrats used the image against President Taft when the economy slowed down, as seen by several items on this page. Note the Mark Hanna button in the upper left using the full dinner pail. The "nothing in it" button is from 1932.



The Republican Party is in Power



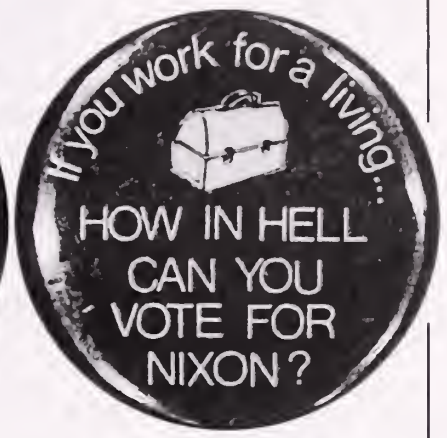


This magazine from the 1916 election shows the dinner pail was still an active symbol when Charles Evans Hughes ran for President.

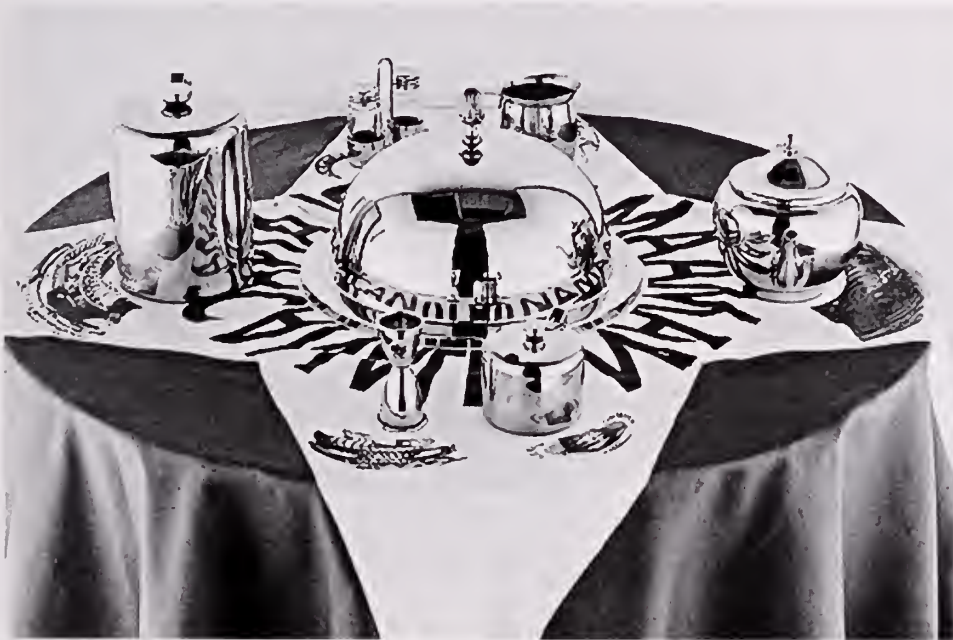
Lunch Bucket Buttons



In the modern era, the full dinner pail ceased to be a recognizable symbol. The more contemporary lunch bucket did occasionally appear as a symbol of organized labor. The Jimmy Carter button shown here even uses the slogan "a full lunch pail" but was probably created by a vendor for the collector market. The larger buttons are from the Seventies as well. One shows support for Scoop Jackson, a Democratic hopeful in 1972 and 1976, who was a favorite of labor unions. The other button is an anti-Nixon button from 1972.★



The Full Dinner Pail in 1993



The enduring power of the full dinner pail was demonstrated in 1993 when artist Paul Ramirez Jonas unveiled an installation by that name, which featured a dinner tablecloth incorporating images from the 1900 campaign, which appear on reflective metal surfaces. The images on the cloth are elongated to compensate for the curved shape of the metal pots.

Baby Ruth and Baby McKee

by Stephen Baxley

As this 1892 campaign sheet music shows, two of the most popular celebrities of the 1892 presidential campaign were not the candidates themselves, but their relatives. Baby Ruth, the daughter of Grover and Frances Cleveland, was born in 1891 and became the nation's darling. The nickname "Baby Ruth" became popular and a candy bar was named after her. These days, many incorrectly assume that the still-popular candy bar was named after baseball great "Babe" Ruth but the sports hero was himself nicknamed after President Cleveland's baby. Since Baby McKee had neither a candy nor a sports legend named after him, Americans today are less familiar with Baby McKee than Baby Ruth.

In 1853, Benjamin Harrison married his first wife, Caroline Lavinia Scott. He had two children by this marriage, Russell B. and Mary. In November 1884, Mary married James Robert McKee. Benjamin Harrison McKee was born in 1887. On the sheet music, Baby McKee is displaying his grandfather's hat, an image used by Benjamin Harrison in his 1888 race for President. President Harrison was very fond of his grandson, Baby McKee. One popular story is that Baby McKee liked to ride a cart pulled by a goat named His Whiskers. The story says that the goat once ran away with Baby McKee and went down the White House driveway onto Pennsylvania Avenue with President Harrison running after him.

The lyrics from the sheet music are as follows:

We are the nation's pets, you see,
And ev'ry body speaks of us;
In politics, we don't agree,
The papers all our views discuss,
Now, Baby Ruth's a Democrat,
And thinks high tariff's a mistake;
But I'm a born Republican,



Advertising card showing President & Mrs. Grover Cleveland.

No free trade arguments can shake!
The White House is my proper place
I mean to get there if I can!

With Tammany I'm in the race,
To please the Mug wumps is my plan!
If all the women in the land
Could have a vote, I'm sure to win;
For Babe McKee quite long enough
The White House crib has slumbered in!
I mean to stay for one more,
Now, don't forget that Baby Ruth!

You tried to get there once before,
But failed, now isn't that the truth?
You democrats will take back seats,
Wait til November next, and see;
And then "innocuous desuetude,"
Will, Baby Ruth, your portion be!

Ha! Ha! I've got the inside track,
The mug wump tribe I captivate,
Their solid vote I shall not lack,
'Tis Destiny that steers my Fate!
But let's be friends, whoever wins,



The Nation's pets we are, you see;
We're both True Blue Americans,
You, Baby Ruth, I, Baby McKee

Chorus:

We're Baby Ruth and Baby McKee,
Lively specimens, you'll agree;
Just as happy as happy can be,
We run the nation's Presidency!
Which of us wins you'll very soon see,
Baby Ruth, or Baby McKee.

Some of the lines need explanation.

With Tammany I'm in the race,
To please the Mug wumps is my plan!

Tammany had not supported Grover Cleveland in 1888 because of his reform policies. Cleveland had defeated Blaine in 1884 because the reform-minded mugwumps (Republicans who refused to support Blaine) had supported him. He hoped to gain their support again in 1892.

And then "innocuous desuetude"
Will, Baby Ruth, your portion be!

The quote "innocuous desuetude" is from a March 1, 1886 letter President Cleveland wrote to Congress. During Congressional recess, Cleveland had suspended the Attorney General for the Southern District of Alabama and made a new appointment. Challenging Cleveland's ability



Mrs. Frances Cleveland was a popular figure in her own right.



to suspend while in recess, the Senate asked the Attorney General of the United States to provide all papers related to the case. Upon orders from the President, the Attorney General sent papers on the nomination, but refused to send papers on the suspension. In resolutions recommended to the Senate for adoption, the Attorney General was censured for his actions. "Innocuous desuetude" used in the letter referred to the old Tenure of Office acts (passed in 1867 and modified in 1869):

"It may be well to mention here the embarrassment possible to arise from leaving on the statute books the so-called "tenure-of-office acts," and to earnestly recommend their total repeal...I am unable to state whether or not this recommendation for a repeal of these laws has been since repeated. If it has not, the reason can probably be found in the experience which demonstrated the fact that the necessities of the political situation but rarely developed their vicious character.

"And so it happens that after an existence of nearly twenty years of *almost innocuous desuetude* these laws are brought forth—apparently the repealed as well as the unrepealed—and put in the way of an Executive who is willing, if permitted, to attempt an improvement in the methods of administration."

According to Baby McKee, Baby Ruth's absence from the White House will be *innocuous desuetude* (*harmless discontinuance*). No one will miss her.

Baby Ruth would be the one to occupy the White House in 1892 and her little sister, Esther Cleveland, would be the only child of a president born in the White House (1893).★



Mrs. Benj. Harrison.

Mrs. R. B. McKee.

Rev. Dr. Scott.
(In his 90th year.)

"Baby McKee."
(Master Benj. Harrison McKee.)

Mary L. McKee.

FOUR GENERATIONS.

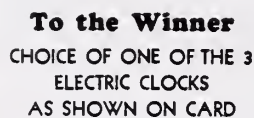
This popular photo from the Harrison administration shows four generations of Mrs. Harrison's family. "Baby McKee" (listed as "Master Benj. Harrison McKee") sits in her lap.

“Chinese Must Go” Revisited

Last year, APIC member Tom Tedford presented a series of articles on the FDR clocks (see the Summer, Fall and Winter 2002 issues of *The Keynote*). Those articles motivated APIC member and FDR specialist Edward Novick to check his collection and dig out a punch card offering an FDR clock as the prize. For those who may not recall, punch cards were a cardboard frame filled with little holes in which were rolled slips of paper with numbers on them. For a small charge one could punch out one of the slips and write your name next to the number. At the end, the winning number was revealed and the prize rewarded. In this case, the winning prize could be an FDR clock.★

The Fall 2002 *Keynote* featured an article by Stephen Baxley about 19th century advertising cards highlighting overt, often violent, resentment of immigrants from China with the message “Chinese Must Go.” That article stimulated longtime APIC member Charles H. McSorley to send in related material, including Democratic Party ballots used in the 1888 California election. Note the messages carried on the ballot artwork: “No More Chinese,” “Exclusion of Chinese” and even a slate of candidates for the “Regular Anti-Chinese Ticket” (meaning, presumably, some bolters were fielding an irregular anti-Chinese ticket).

Note the artwork on the Regular Democratic Ticket picturing Grover Cleveland dressed like Davy Crockett protecting American womanhood from Asian hordes. These words and images were not produced by fringe groups; they were ballots used in the general election.★



\$10.00 2-CANDLE LAMP CLOCK
SPIRIT OF THE U. S. A.

[illegible]

BAY PRECINCT.
OAKLAND TOWNSHIP.

— FOR —

- 1.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, CAMPBELL P. BERRY.
- 2.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, BERNARD D. MURPHY.
- 3.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, FREDERICK BERINGER.
- 4.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, A. CAMINETTI.
- 5.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, CHARLES A. JENKINS.
- 6.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, P. J. MURPHY.
- 7.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, N. BOWDEN.
- 8.-ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, BARON WATERS.
- 9.-REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, 3D DISTRICT, BEN MORGAN.
- 10.-MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 54TH DISTRICT, RICHARD LLOYD.
- 11.-CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT (UNEXP'D TERM) NILES SEARIS.
- 12.-ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT (UNEXP'D TERM) J. F. SULLIVAN.
- 13.-JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT, WM. T. BAGGETT.
- 14.-SHERIFF, E. D. MURPHY.
- 15.-COUNTY RECORDER, W. K. MCKEE.
- 16.-COUNTY CLERK AND COUNTY AUDITOR, J. B. POIRIER.
- 17.-COUNTY TREASURER, THOMAS MORAN.
- 18.-COUNTY TAX COLLECTOR, CHRISTIAN HERMANN.
- 19.-DISTRICT ATTORNEY, THOMAS SCOTT.
- 20.-PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR, J. M. DUKE.
- 21.-COUNTY SURVEYOR, ROBERT H. GOODWIN.
- 22.-CORONER, FRANK ARMSTRONG.
- 23.-SUPERVISOR, 5TH DISTRICT, JAMES GALAVAN.
- 24.-JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, OAKLAND TOWNSHIP, DUDLEY MANNING.
- 25.-CONSTABLE, OAKLAND TOWNSHIP, P. O'KANE.
- 26.-CONSTABLE, OAKLAND TOWNSHIP, EDWARD LEWIS.
- 27.-ROAD OVERSEER, BAY ROAD DISTRICT, JOHN MCCARTY.

Ballot paper from 1888.

REGULAR DEMOCRATIC TICKET

PROTECTION TO
WHITE LABOR

AND HOME
INDUSTRIES.

"NO MORE CHINESE."

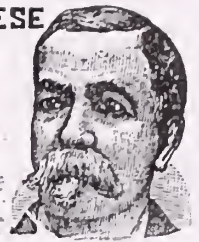
37th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

For

- 1 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, CAMPBELL P. BERRY
- 2 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, BERNARD D. MURPHY
- 3 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, FREDERICK BERINGER
- 4 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, A. CAMINETTI
- 5 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, CHARLES A. JENKINS
- 6 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, P. J. MURPHY
- 7 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, N. BOWDEN
- 8 ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, BYRON WATERS
- 9 REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, FOURTH DISTRICT, ROBERT FERRAL.
- 10 MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, THOMAS M. SEARY
- 11 CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT (UNEXPIRED TERM), NILES SEARLS
- 12 ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT (UNEXPIRED TERM), J. F. SULLIVAN
- 13 MAYOR, E. B. POND
- 14 AUDITOR, FLEET F. STROTHER
- 15 SHERIFF, JAMES R. KELLY
- 16 TAX COLLECTOR, JOSEPH SPANIER
- 17 TREASURER, CHRISTIAN REIS
- 18 RECORDER, JOHN B. MCINTYRE
- 19 COUNTY CLERK, A. T. SPOTTS
- 20 DISTRICT ATTORNEY, PETER F. DUNNE
- 21 ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR, GEORGE FLOURNOY, JR.
- 22 CORONER, W. E. TAYLOR
- 23 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR, JAMES C. PENNIE
- 24 SURVEYOR, S. HARRISON SMITH

THE REGULAR ANTI-CHINESE

DR. C. C. O'DONNELL TICKET



22d Senatorial District.

42d Assembly District.

FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

For

1. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, B. D. MURPHY.
2. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, C. P. BERRY.
3. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, F. BERINGER.
4. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, A. CAMINETTI.
5. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, C. A. JENKINS.
6. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, P. J. MURPHY.
7. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, N. BOWDEN.
8. ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT, BYRON WATERS.
9. REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, 5TH CONG. DISTRICT, T. G. PHELPS.
10. MEMBER OF ASSEMBLY, 42d ASSEMBLY DISTRICT, E. S. SALOMON.
11. CHIEF JUSTICE SUPREME COURT, UNEXPIRED TERM, W. H. BEATTY.
12. ASSOCIATE JUSTICE SUPREME COURT, UNEXPIRED TERM, J. D. WORKS.
13. MAYOR, C. C. O'DONNELL
14. AUDITOR, F. F. STROTHER.
15. SHERIFF, CHARLES S. LAUMEISTER.
16. TAX COLLECTOR, THOMAS O'BRIEN.
17. TREASURER, AUG. HELBING.
18. RECORDER, JOHN B. MCINTYRE.
19. COUNTY CLERK, WM. A. DAVIES.
20. DISTRICT ATTORNEY, JAMES D. PAGE.
21. ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR, JOHN LORD LOVE.
22. CORONER, J. J. GROOM.
23. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR, JAMES C. PENNIE.
24. SURVEYOR, CHAS. S. TILTON.



Collecting History



"Keep U.S. Out of War" vs. "Union Now"

by Robert Fratkin



Many times, knowing the background of the items in our collections increases the fun of collecting. One item that many of us have purchased at APIC meetings in the past few years, as either an attractive single button or a full store display card, shows a map of the U.S. with the legend "Keep U.S. Out of War." Where did these buttons originate? How come so many of them appeared at APIC meetings starting in the late 1970's, though seldom seen for the previous 35 years? The answers to these questions appeared in an article in *The Standard Times* newspaper in New Bedford, Massachusetts in February, 1975.

The gist of the article was that the buttons were made by Jack Gould in 1939. Gould and his wife felt that the Atlantic Ocean was sufficient to protect the United States from foreign wars. Neutrality in the European War was a popular issue in the 1939-1941 period in America, as I wrote about in a recent column on the America First movement. Working at the time in Philadelphia, Gould saw a neutrality pinback button as a way to make some extra money. He designed the buttons and had them made by the Philadelphia Badge Company. He and his wife pinned 24 buttons on each display card. Gould then sold the cards to store owners in the Philadelphia area for \$1 per card. The cards sold well until Pearl Harbor, when the issue became moot. He packed the remaining cards in a trunk, which he took with him when he moved to Providence, RI and later to New Bedford. In 1975, Gould's son found 2500 of the buttons in a trunk in Gould's basement in New Bedford, and Jack was back in business. In 1975, he started selling the buttons to local antique dealers at \$5-10 a card. The first APIC members who came upon the store cards brought them into the hobby, and they now turn up regularly at our meetings on the cards and as singles.

Of course, during the same period, many Americans were actively encouraging support for England, as reflected in the pro-England buttons shown here. An extreme aspect of support for England is found in the "Union Now" movement.

In 1939, Clarence Streit wrote a book calling for the union of the democracies on both sides of the Atlantic into one Federal Union, to be called Atlantica. His book, *Union Now*, was a best seller that was widely read and debated on college campuses and in political circles, opposed as it was to the isolationist philosophy of America First. *Union Now's* popularity resulted in the creation of Federal Union, Inc. and many Student Federalist chapters in 1939 and 1940. Streit was an interesting character. Born in Missouri, he



grew up in Montana, was a land surveyor in Alaska, a volunteer in the AEF (America's fighting forces in Europe in World War I), a student at the Sorbonne, a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, and a foreign correspondent covering the League of Nations for the *New York Times* from 1929 to 1939. A number of prominent Americans took up the Union Now cause, including Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts and later Senator Estes Kefauver. When the war in Western Europe went from "sitzkrieg" to active warfare in April 1940, and it was clear that Britain was in mortal danger, the movement concentrated on advocating a union of Britain and the United States through a 49th statehood for Britain. I have only found this one button advocating the Union Now position, but there were a large number of other buttons in circulation supporting Britain, particularly in the Northeast, upper Midwest and California. On the other side is an America First button from their 1941 National Convention and a different "Keep U.S. Out Of War" button.★



Above: Pro-Britain buttons from the World War II era. Right: A postcard picturing FDR with the legend, "President Roosevelt Signs the Lease-and-Lend Bill, March 11th, 1941." Reflecting its importance, FDR signed the bill the same day it passed Congress.



1944 Wallace Items

Even though dropped from the ticket, Wallace was active in 1944.

MAKE YOUR VOTE COUNT FOR ROOSEVELT AND VICTORY NOV. 7

Hear Vice-President HENRY A. WALLACE

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1944 — 12:30 P.M.

SAVOY BALLROOM—47th and South Parkway Ave.

Sponsored by Non-Partisan Roosevelt Unity Rally • Admit One



"The Hope of America"

Hiya, Henry!

★
NOON LUNCHEON HONORING
HENRY A. WALLACE
VICE PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES

★
HOTEL SECOR BALLROOM
Thursday, October 26, 1944

LUCAS COUNTY DEMOCRATIC
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Frazier Reams, Michael V. DiSalle
Chairmen



Bumper sticker from 1940.

APIC OFFICERS - President: Chris Hearn; **Vice Presidents:** Region #1 - Mark Evans, Region #2 - Lynn Christy, Region #3 - James J. Gifford, Region #4 - Thomas M. Kitchen, Region #5 - Larry Brokofsky, Region #6 - Cary Jung; Region #7 - Charlie Hertlein, **Secretary/Treasurer:** Joseph D. Hayes; **Board of Directors:** Bruce DeMay, Ray Farina, Dan Schofield, Peter Economou, Carl Krasik, Andy Link, Jonathan Binkley, Jack Dixey, Ronnie Lapinsky Sax, Mike McQuillen, Bob Atwater, Morry Greener, Bill Gnefkow, Pat Lennington, Trent LeDoux, Robert Banwart, Gary Cohen, David Wilson, Brian Krapf, Tom Peeling, David Quintin; **National Chapter Coordinator:** Rob Payne; **Senior Contributing Editor, APIC Keynoter:** Michael Kelly; **Past Presidents:** Neal Machander, Norman Loewenstern, Robert Fratkin, Larry Krug, U.I. "Chick" Harris, Geary Vlk
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PUCK BUILDING, New York, September 4th, 1912

PRICE TEN CENTS

Puck



THE FULL DINNER-PAIL.

"Looksh like I washn't goin' t' get in thish tune!"